WTO at Cancun: Assessing the outcome



QAZI KHOLIQUZZAMAN AHMAD

HF Cancun WTO trade talks have collapsed. Was this outcome unexpected? No, it was inevitable given the scant concerns shown by the developed countries to the needs, aspirations and legitimate claims of the developing countries during the run up to Cancun

The global system is unbalanced and unfair. In a world of unprecedented technological advancement and wealth creation billions of people, mostly in developing countries, live on less than US\$2/person a day and about a billion on US\$1/person or less a day. In the wake of globalisation, the global inequalities have accentuated. In 2000, the rich 20 per cent of the world's population, mostly in the developed world, controlled 86 per cent of the world's wealth, while the proportion was 80 per cent 10 years previously. The increasingly liberalised trade has indeed significantly contributed to the global wealth creation, but the benefits have mostly been reaped by the developed countries.

The seven-year long Uruguay Round of trade talks produced an agreement full of inequities and imbalances. The 2001 Doha WTO ministerial meeting recognised those inequities and agreed on a development round to address the issues of development and poverty reduction in the developing countries through a fairer global trading system, to be concluded by January 2005. The Cancun ministerial meeting held during 10-14 September was supposed to take stock of the progress achieved since Doha and provide directions and timelines

towards concluding the round. However, the run up to Cancun was full of pitfalls as various deadlines for reaching understandings and agreements on different issues, which were to be negotiated between Doha and Cancun, could not be achieved. Also, widely divergent comments on different aspects were coming out from different

By now, newspapers and TV

channels have outlined the key areas of sharp disagreement between the developed and developing countries, leading to the collapse of the talks. One such reason is the refusal by the advanced countries to reduce agricultural subsidies sufficiently. In fact, subsidies provided to agriculture in the USA has now doubled since 1994, instead of going down. Available figures suggest that agricultural subsidies provided in the developed countries amount to more than the total income of Sub Saharan Africa. The average subsidy to a cow in the EU is US\$2 per day. The American cotton subsidies amount to US\$4 billion annually, paid to about 25,000 rich farmers, causing untold sufferings to millions of cotton farmers of Africa and other regions. No substantial reduction in these numbers was on offer from the USA or the EU

There was nothing on offer from the developed countries in terms of market access to non-agricultural exports from the developing countries. Although an understanding appeared to have been reached regarding the inclusion of crossborder movement of semi-skilled workers in discussions, no timeline was indicated. This issue involves economic, social, political, and 'terror'-related aspects and is emotionally charged. I don't think there will be any real progress in this regard in foreseeable future. Apart from this, market access with simplified rules of origin was one other key interest of Bangladesh, which could not be pursued with vigour. Bangladesh needs to find allies and work together with them in future on this

One silver lining seems to be the agreement reached a few days before Cancun that poor countries may themselves produce or import life saving drugs (for AIDS, malaria, etc.) from cheaper sources in the developing world, if available. But the practical implementation of this agreement remains to be sorted out and many difficulties may arise in the process. The multinational pharmaceutical companies will surely not sit idle; they will seek to influence the proceedings so that they can maintain, even enhance their market power using all means available including pressuring their country administrations for taking

trade and investment relationship interaction between trade and competition, transparency in government procurement, and trade facilitation). Obviously, acceptance of these issues for negotiation would open a Pandora's box and the critical issues faced by the developing countries (enumerated above, which relate to the reduction of agricultural subsidies in developed countries, market access in developed countries for non-agricultural exports from developing countries, free cross-country movement of labour, re-negotiation of TRIPS,

recruiting, or threats did not work. A solidarity emerged among the developing countries, which worked throughout the 5-day meet. The socalled G-21, led by Brazil, China and India, put forward an articulated strong voice, particularly on the agricultural subsidy issue. The least developed countries also generally stuck together despite differing interests within the group, and the cotton interest countries from Africa and other regions strongly called for dismantling of American cotton subsidies. The developed world

programmes to stem a derailment from the course that would protect

and enhance the developing countries' interests on key issues, already identified and debated in Cancun or those that may emerge in future. It is important to remember that the needs and interests differ among developing countries. But, while a group of countries may find a particular issue or a combination of issues around which the group members can unite, which may differ from the key concerns of another group of countries, it is important for the developing coun-

organisations as the World Bank and the IMF. The World Bank and the IMF have been at the forefront of promoting market forces-based economic management, nationally and globally. The Bank-Fund duo exert a lot of influence on the policy making processes in their client countries in favour of promoting free market capitalism and globalisation. The MNCs and TNCs carry these processes forward. The WTO is another organisation created to promote the same process. While the IMF has relented a bit in its pursuit of developing countries to open their capital markets to speculative capital flows, having learnt the lesson, particularly from the 1997 East Asian economic collapse, that such liberalisation may produce instability, and not growth, the WTO is now vigorously pursuing this objective. One of the elements that underlie the Singapore issue of the relationship between trade

tured the economic driving seats

globally. Such companies have

been making inroads into the devel-

oping countries around the world,

often with covert or overt support of

their governments as well as of such

the developing countries. Indeed, neo-liberalism now rules, promoted and supported by the World Bank and the IMF, which are managed on the basis of contribution-based voting system giving controlling power to the developed countries. The WTO's governance is based on one-country-one-vote system but the international power structure exerts strong influences on it, using various means at its disposal, to have it kowtow its policy proposals and directions. The same applies to other UN agencies and regional development banks. Hence, an entrenched unequal negotiating environment (in respect of trade, or environment, or health and other social issues, or whatever) is the natural corollary. It is, therefore, necessary to address the larger issue of the whole paradigm of economic and political governance based on neo-

and investment seems to be the

opening up of capital markets of

trade talks may be important but the larger context is obviously crucial if longer term sustainable development in a fair world order is the goal as was enunciated in the Doha Ministerial Declaration (Article 6). Sustainable development calls for equity (globally and within nations) to be established and the environment protected and enhanced along with economic growth. From 1992 Rio Earth Summit to 2002 Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) and since, there has been a lot of rhetorical support for sustainable development. But, little practical attention, within nations or globally, has so far been given to its implementation. This paradigm, which puts human beings at the centre of the stage, is in sharp contrast to the now ruling neo-liberal market economy paradigm that is inherently iniquitous and exploitative. The developing countries need to look into their own circumstances and develop their strategies on the basis of sustainable development imperatives. This will necessarily require that they initiate and sustain a shift to sustainable development (focusing on growth, equity, and environmental security) from neo-liberalism and build strong solidarities within their own countries through democratic processes for pursuing sustainable development and across the developing world for political clout to be achieved and employed in global negotiations with the developed countries regard-

liberalism. Focusing only on WTO

In this context, Cancun may be used as a building block by the developing world, given that, at Cancun, the developing countries could stand up to the developed world by forming alliances.

ing development or trade or environ-

mental or any other set of issues.

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steps to safeguard their interests. It may turn out that these companies will find ways of subverting production of these drugs in developing countries or may succeed in securing support (subsidy, import promotion support, etc.) enabling them to dump the drugs in the developing countries. In the latter case, the poor developing countries may be able to procure life saving drugs at relatively cheaper prices compared to now; but they will lose in terms of not being able to build capacity for the production of these drugs, which will keep them continuously vulnerable.

developed world by forming alliances.

And, of course, no progress was made in relation to development concerns such as implementation issues, special and differential treatment of the developing countries, technology transfer, and commodity issues (sharp fluctuations and long term declines in the prices of primary commodities on which dependence of developing countries is large indeed). Instead, the developed world, particularly Europe and Japan, demanded the platform to be expanded to include the so-called Singapore issues (viz.

etc.) would as a result be severely undermined. It would appear that the whole purpose in pushing for Singapore issues was to derail the negotiations on the issues earlier agreed to be included in this round.

The same old story. That is, the

political and economic power of the developed world was on display. In the past, be it in relation to trade, environment or any other issue, the developed world sought to protect their interest to the complete disregard of whatever cost would, as a result, be imposed on the developing countries. They have used such tactics as taking up a strong position with few minor concessions offered at later stages, arm-twisting, peer pressure, threats of not providing development assistance, special secret concessions to selected countries, etc. This time, reportedly, even the American President phoned his counterparts in certain countries whose representatives to Cancun talks were vocal in leading opposition to the US position with regard to agricultural subsidies and other relevant issues

In the end, though, persuasion,

found these solidarities impossible to thwart. The talks therefore collapsed.

While, the whole process is political in nature, those developing world political alliances for protecting and enhancing their legitimate claims and addressing the inequities and imbalances of the international trade system is perhaps the most important gain from Cancun for the developing world. If they can strengthen these initiatives and construct their future agendas working together, there is a chance that progress may be achieved towards a fairer world system.

Developed countries, of course will not sit back and do nothing They will surely seek to sharper their strategies and mobilise forces One thing they might do is to seek accommodation with individua countries in terms of free trade or other trading arrangements increased assistance to specific developing countries on specific areas critical for those countries and so on. Such developments must be watched carefully so as to formulate countervailing action tries to remember that if they all stick together and help one another their clout will be stronger and all of them may benefit from negotiations conducted on that basis. After all, politics is the name of the game. Should one be surprised at the

stances taken by the developed world at Cancun? No, I would think. In fact, it is inherent in the current globally ruling neo-liberal market economy paradigm that the powerful would lord it over the weak. In this context, it is sometimes argued that free trade has always been an instrument in the hands of the strong to conquer the markets of the weak The governments of the developed countries are at times captive of the lobbies that help elect them to power and, hence, pursue certain policies in the interest of those lobbies regardless of their adverse implications for the poor and disadvantaged of the world. Moreover, the multinational and transnational companies (MNCs and TNCs), whose sole pursuit is to make profits regardless of any damages that may be caused to the host countries or to the environment, have cap-

India's gigantic river project

A disaster for Bangladesh

DR. F. M. MANIRUZZAMAN

NDIA'S ruling party, BJP wants to link 30 major international rivers and divert their flow to the southeast and southwest at an estimated cost of US \$120 billion. This largest and most expensive water project in the world is expected to be implemented within 14 years of time. The project aims to connect the rivers in the country for diverting water from surplus river basins to water deficient areas and at improving the situation of recurring flood and drought`. The project also aims at producing nearly 34,000 megawatt of hydroelectricity and increasing food production from

US \$40 per acre to over US \$500. National Water Development Agency of India plans to dig hundreds of reservoirs and about 630 canals to provide 175 billion cubic metres of water a year to its gigantic project areas. It needs to be mentioned that Indian Government in the past had to face several critical situations as a result of sharing water within its neighbouring states. the most outstanding example being Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. From India's point of view, the farmers of several Indian states consider it as a wise and farmerfriendly programme that would be of great economic value.

However, the plans have caused much concern and anguish in Bangladesh. This project, if completed, would cause an ecological disaster to Bangladesh, a friendly small neighbour of India with a population of nearly 140 million which already faces the threat of global warming during the middle of the current century. Diversion of water from the international rivers like the Brahmaputra and the Ganges, which provide 85 per cent of fresh water flow in the dry season. would cause havoc to the entire ecosystem of Bangladesh. Bangladesh is a deltaic region and has the mouth of several large international rivers that drain out the flow of 54 international rivers in to the Bay of

Bangladesh largely depends on the fresh water the flow of these rivers that enter its territory from India for irrigation and water supply. Out of 1.72 million square kilometer areas of the Ganges, the Brahmaputra and the Meghna, 8 per cent of these river basins are within the territory of Bangladesh. As a result, any diversion of these rivers from and within India, Nepal, Bhutan and China will surely bring disaster to Bangladesh.

The Farakka Barrage built in 1974 across the Ganges about 17 kilometers from Bangladesh border already limits water flow by half at certain times of the year. The result is the non-availability of irrigation

water to adjoining Bangladeshi districts of Kushtia, Jessore, Pabna and Faridpur. The construction of the Barrage has damaged the ecosystem of the Sundarbans, the largest mangrove forest of the

Dhaka's protest in the forthcoming two-day meeting of Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission in New Delhi in regards to the new project will receive applause but India is likely to ignore the protest as she did with Farakka Bar-

We have several options to

convince India to put off this scheme. Government of Bangladesh should take immediate initiative to persuade India to stop this project and give us our share of water according to the Ganges accord. India has river treaties with her neighbouring countries, which prohibit Delhi from unilaterally altering river courses...Bangladeshi scientists and engineers should begin immediate research so as to build water reservoirs, which might be useful to tackle the emergency, to irrigate the cultivable lands in lean

The big rivers namely the Padma, Meghna and Jamuna have flown in Bangladesh via Nepal through the same river course of India. If Nepal decides to change the course of its rivers for her own benefit then the river course and the influx of the water would be changed both in India and Bangladesh and it will result in a massive destruction to the agricultural programme of both India and Bangladesh. But India is in a better position to get the maximum benefit from the rivers as all the big rivers in the sub-continent have criss-crossed through India and the main key to regulate the influx of river water is in India's hand. Therefore, if India plans to stop the river course at her will, she can do it but that will bring disaster to agriculture and ecology of neighbouring Bangladesh. Thus India's present initiative of changing the direction of the river course will cost heavily

Bangladesh and Nepal as well.

Now we should see whether India is allowed to get through this project when UN charter in respect of water sharing puts emphasis by saying, "International river water must be shared through mutual understandings and commitments. At no situation any country could initiate any programme that could yield ecological problem to the others which could hinder the agricultural project of other countries". India has researched into the project for three years. This research has provided India with the charter of probable bad influence of the project over the ecology and agricultural sector of her poor neighbouring countries. The concerned scientists who obviously serve the causes of humanity should have researched to find out alternative solutions so that other countries are not affected from their master plan of saving their agriculture.

We have several options to convince India to put off this scheme. Government of Bangladesh should take immediate initiative to persuade India to stop this project and give us our share of water according to the Ganges accord. India has river treaties with her neighbouring countries, which prohibit Delhi from unilaterally altering river courses. Alternately, our government should immediately appeal to UN to reaffirm international law on water sharing if India does not pay any attention to the existing treaties. Our embassies in different countries, especially the rich and influential ones must explain to the respective governments about the impact the project is likely to cause; such as thousands of cultivable agricultural lands will remain dry, no irrigation water will run in Bangladesh during the time it is required and the whole region of northern Bangladesh will

be out of cultivation. India would have to gather the resources to convert the grand idea into reality. All international fund giving agencies and developed countries like USA, UK, Canada, Japan, Australia, China, Russia and the European Union should be requested and encouraged not to give moral and financial support to such a gigantic unilateral riverlinking project. Bangladeshi scientists and engineers should begin immediate research so as to build water reservoirs, which might be useful to tackle the emergency, to irrigate the cultivable lands in lean

One has to remember that regional dominance is likely to bring forth some complexities that can puff up in future and the influential ones have to pay big for any devastating plan against the poor but friendly neighbours.

Are we up for effective traffic management?

AKM NOZMUL HAQUE

N order to ease the perennial traffic jams of Dhaka City, the major newspapers have recently published reports regarding a plan to demolish the SAARC fountain and the roundabout near the Fisheries Department. Some of the readers of this newspaper have also registered support for this plan through various letters and write-

It is my humble opinion (and the readers may differ), demolishing roundabouts will be another blunder in the ever expanding list of perpetual blunders committed by our city planners. Quite a few EU countries are reverting back to roundabouts to control traffic and prevent accident.

Dhaka lacks architecturally aesthetic landmarks. SAARC fountain is one of the finest landmarks in Dhaka. How can we demolish that? Let this decision not be a repetition of the island fiasco. Dhakaites may remember waking up one fine morning, to find the islands on various roads being demolished. After a few island free years, the urban planners suddenly decided to reinstate these much maligned traffic management tools. Now these same islands are being widened while the wrath of city planners is now directed towards roundabouts.

Many major cities in the world --London, Paris, New York -- despite having underpasses, and cross roads have occasional traffic jams. Whoever has driven through the Champs Elysess in Paris, probably the biggest roundabout in the world with 24 connecting roads, understands the pleasure of driving through a crowded traffic junction without encountering any traffic

congestion. Roundabouts are considered an essential part of efficient traffic management in the UK. A city in England on the road to Birmingham after passing Luton has a marvelous display of roundabouts, absolutely no traffic lights but excellent traffic management. I have forgotten the name of the city but visitors going to the UK are recommended to visit the city. Crossroads are no solutions either and roundabouts are definitely not an obstruction.

The following appear to be the major causes of traffic jam in Dhaka. i. Mixed-speed vehicles (not to speak of slow rickshaws, autorickshaws) ply together in the same lane as cars. As a result, motorised vehicles are unable to attain the speed required to clear the lanes

ii. The concept of following designated lanes is non-existent and as a result, roads that can accommodate three vehicles remain overcrowded and as many as seven lanes are formed. As a result, the time spent on the road per unit vehicle is much more compared to other comparable cities. iii. The pedestrian paths and

inconvenient to use, as a result

points including busy junctions

hindering free flow of traffic. The

Footpaths are not only narrow, but

most of the time remain occupied by makeshift vendors, goods, signboards of the side shops, construction materials and car parking footpaths seem to be our market places and not for walking.

iv. Probably only about 10 per

cent of the city dwellers use motorized vehicles. What a fate for pedestrians, the current Dhaka Urban Transportation Project (DUTP) which is financed by the World Bank also seems to be ill conceived completely ignoring the plight of the pedestrians, cyclists and joggers Our City and the so called World Bank -- experts should have taker lessons from the Mayor of Bogota Only one person, not a galaxy of experts, is required to transform a city. The city of Bogota was once more chaotic than the present day Dhaka. What a transformation by a Mayor? Seeing is believing. Another recent example is the Chief Minister of Hyderabad in India. The whole city was transformed to an extent that he could succeed in bringing Bill Gates to the city and millions of dollars are now being invested in the city. We do not know when a person like that is going to come to us. A person who will hold the helm of affairs, must have vision, motivation, honesty, integrity and sincerity. That is exactly what is needed

Money is not a problem. v. People walk across round the roundabouts all the time, how can vehicles pick up speed when you find people all the time in front of vour vehicle?

vi. Buses, cars, cabs are found stopping on the busy roads, even ir the middle of the road, for drop off or

vii. On some roads, plying of slow speed vehicles has not been eliminated but reduced (rickshaws are not allowed, but auto-rickshaws are allowed to run helping not much to eliminate jams).

viii. In some of the routes, one comes across a cross road/roundabout where most of the slow speed vehicles are not allowed to operate but allowed to cross to the other side. This does not help in reducing the time spent by the per unit vehicle on the main road, as a result, long queues also build up.

ix. Vehicles are allowed to park around the roundabouts. This defeats the very purpose for which roundabouts are built. At roundabouts who is to give way and who has the right of way -- no one tries to teach. Unless that is taught, police at the roundabout cause more of a problem. Usually traffic lights and police are forbidden at roundabouts

x. Vehicles -- motorised or nonmotorised -- stand parked at the turnings of the main roads -- hinder-

ing the flow of traffic as required. xi. Buses wait and wait for passengers. If the buses are timed they would only stop for the time required to load and unload passengers not beyond. This is essential for effect tive clearance of the roads xii. Vehicles are allowed to park

on major junctions and roads walkways are very narrow and obstructing passage. pedestrians cross the roads at all

xiii. There are inadequate bypass roads, when one is stuck in iams How come there are jam's in Gulshan, Baridhara, Dhanmondi where there are ample side roads? Many of these exit roads from the main roads are closed. There has been a new addition to this -- in the name of security and status, Baridhara Society has closed down almost all the exits to and from Pragati Sarani. What happens to the traffic scenario if all the major housing societies close down the exits like this? Security is a big business in Dhaka. In the name of security who authorised the closure of these

Now let's examine what's happening around the SAARC Fountain roundabout. All the conditions listed from (i) to (xii) are existent. So turning the roundabout into a cross bypass running from Gabtali to Badamtaly. These new roads have turned into ones that are no better than Shakhari Patti. We are in agony of thinking that the proposed eastern bypass may be another quagmire of side shops, construction material storage area and parking lot soon after inauguration. Why can't there be a law, prohibiting construction for at least 100 to 200 yards on the sides of any regional bypass or national highways

upto the Fisheries Department

Bhaban, also not like the western

Due to the absence of such a law. the worst example is Ashulia Road. It cannot be extended horizontally all kinds of factories, and establish



Dhaka's mixed traffic: The perennial jam.

road will not be of much help Roundabouts are not a problem. Please do not demolish the SAARC Fountain and the roundabout -- a beautiful landmark in Dhaka. If we cannot build a beautiful place let us not destroy one. I will mention two beautiful roundabouts in London's Trafalgar Square and Piccadilly Circus. What a splendour! How beautiful these two places are to sit and enjoy the charm of the city. SAARC Fountain and the two roundabouts on Gulshan Avenue can be transformed into areas of great beauty.

Dhaka is endemic of management failure. That is the major problem we are living with. I would like to cite a few simple examples. Rickshaw is not a problem in the Cantonment but is within a nuisance in Motijheel where every office is walking distance from each other. Why are rickshaws allowed to run in Motiiheel?

Now let's digress from the roundabout business

There have been numerous reports in newspapers saying that Dhaka does not have enough roads running East to West. What is the difficulty in having that? We now have NAM Villages. Why are we allocating these flats to our lawmakers and government officials? The Authorities, through negotiation, may allocate these flats to the house owners/flat owners of the houses required to be demolished for building these new roads.

We must build new roads in Dhaka. These roads must be effective, not like the roads running from the side of the Notredame College

ments etc. have come up on both

sides of the narrow road.

appears that if the following roads are constructed, much of the traffic problems may be mitigated. 1) At least two roads should run as East-West roads crossing Mymensing Road from the Prime

Minister's Office to the SAARC

To an ordinary citizen like me, it

Fountain roundabout. On the west ern end, these will touch Mirpur Road and on the eastern side Tejgaon Road. 2) At the western side of the

Sonargaon Road, one road will connect to the Green Road.

3) On Panthapath at least two North-South roads should be built, one between SAARC Circle and Green Road crossing and the other between Green Road crossing and Russell Square.

4) Two new roads should be built n Rayer Bazar- Shanker area that will connect the western bypass at one end and the Sat Masjid Road at the other.

5) On the Rampura Road, four wide roads are required to connect East-West routes touching Malibagh Chowdhurypara, Taltala and the Eastern bypass at one end and Tejgaon and/or the Gulshan Lake at the other.

Rampura, Goran surrounding residential areas were built after Bangladesh was born. We ponder why these were developed in such an unplanned manner.

Rajuk should spend more time on follow up than on approving and developing housing estates. Rajuk also requires to be overhauled thoroughly. Rajuk can enlist archi-

tects, builders and they will design buildings according to the specification, which specify that no building are constructed which are not on at least 30 feet wide roads should be

On receipt of the plan, Rajuk only will ensure that these are according to the specifications. Raiuk at present for a price prepare plans for the prospective owners that must be stopped forthwith. There should be numerous teams within Rajuk which can conduct inspections on

constructed.

on the spot. No undertable dealing in the office. Under the current state and circumstances of Rajuk management, outsourcing -- experts, teams of surveillance -- may be one of the

buildings. They will take measures

What happened to the programme for the construction of 12 new roads -- six by LGED, three by DCC and three by RHD? Many of the traffic problems would have been eased had these roads been constructed.

The following new roads also require to be constructed very fast: i. Panthapath to be extended at least up to Rampura Bridge.

ii. A new road in between Nikunja and the Airport stretching to Mirpur. Those who have visited Sydney and New Jersey might have observed that public highways run even underneath runways. There is no so called security threat.

iii. A tunnel linking Rokeya Sharani from Jahangir Gate. The road by the side of the NAM Conference Centre also needs to be extended in the same width up to Mirpur Road. After the opening of the Mohakhali Flyover, there will be traffic around Kakoli at the one end and around Jahangir Gate at the other at a magnitude now not comprehended.

Lalbagh to Dhanmondi Road No 2 or Satmasjid Road through the BDR The above of i, ii and iv were

iv. A wide road needs to link

proposed by the concerned highest authorities, we do not know the fate of the proposals so far.

Some of the major cities of the world -- New York, New Jersey, Dallas, Paris, Frankfurt, Bonn, Sydney, London -- do not have flyovers inside the city but located just outside the city. Inside the city they have underpasses instead of flyovers. Flyovers built inside the city are no solutions. Those who have visited Moinamoty or Mohenjodaro archeological sites must have noticed the road network of cities were similar to the present day New York City. Avenues are running north-south, and Roads/streets across east-west at

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regular intervals.